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Las Pluralidades del Pertener:

An Ethnographic Study in Granada an Murcia of Young Latinas/os Transnationalist Sense of Belonging

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Abstract

Youth is understood as a life phase in which the young person has more freedom than a child. Although their decision and actions are still influenced by the parent, as they have less agency than an adult. Nonetheless, this notion does not reflect the entire reality of a young transmigrant. In the moment a person decides to migrate, the relationships with the country of origin do not end after moving abroad; instead, these connections are constantly influencing the life of the transmigrant. In contrast to an adult trans-migrants, for young transmigrants, the decision to migrate is done by their parents. Likewise, the parents will influence the way the young transmigrants get to know the new society. But, once they start the high school, their experiences will be marked by the physical and cultural dissimilarities between them and the 'others'. These experiences will affect the identity construction, the transnational interactions, and the everyday lives of the young transmigrant. So, is the sense of belonging is related to the identity and developed through the social interactions and daily practices that happen in specific places, for young transmigrants, their belongingness is perceived as plural rather than fix to a specific group, community, or country.

This paper is the production of an ethnographic research (with complementary qualitative techniques) in Granada and Murcia (Spain), two cities impacted by the transnational migration. The paper illustrates the complexities of ten young Latina/o transmigrants while growing up in a transnational family and being young transmigrant students in a Spanish high school. These complexities were due to the cultural and physical differences between Latin-American countries and Spain. To overcome the difficulties, the young transmigrants came up with different practices. Some of them made changes in their appearance and their Spanish accent to diminish the differences in relation to the 'others', meanwhile, other participants embraced some of the customs of their country of origin to be with 'their' people. These practices along with the transnational interactions impacted in the development of a belonging sense that was expressed by the young transmigrants as multiple rather than fix to their former or the new country.

Relevance to Development Studies

The knowledge produced in this paper provides an alternative understanding about 'belonging' as plural rather than fixed to one geographical location. Likewise, it highlights the relevance of the 'transnational relationships' as well as 'place' for the construction of belonging. Finally, the paper addresses the complexities in the everyday lives of Latina/o transmigrants that go beyond the often-assumed cultural proximity between Latin-American countries and Spain.

Keywords

Belonging, Youth, Transnational Migration, Identity, Practices, Places, Latin-American, Spain, Ethnography

Chapter 1 | 'Where Do You Feel To Belong?'

"I am Ecuadorian, I was born in Ecuador but I have the Spanish citizenship. At the end, you never feel you belong here or there… I feel I belong to Ecuador and Spain"

(Nacho, September 2017)

"When people ask me where am I from, I say that I am 'Granadina', then they say that I am a not from Granada and I don't feel like that. I act like them, I live here, I speak like one of them, I am Granadina"

(Gabriela, August 2017)

Nacho is a young Ecuadorian. He is twenty-three years old and has been living in Murcia for the last eight years. Gabriela is twenty-three years old. She was born in Bolivia. Fifteen years ago she moved to Granada with her family. I interviewed both young transmigrants in Murcia and Granada, respectively, as part of my ethnographic research. The focus of my study was on the narratives and daily practices of belonging of young Latinas/os living in Spain. Just like Nacho, other participants expressed their belongingness as plural due to the transnational relationships. Furthermore, like in Gabriela's quote, how young transmigrants relate to their sense of belonging can directly challenge the perceptions of the 'others'. Hence, I argue that the sense of belonging can be expressed by the young transmigrant in many ways through the practices and the use of places in their everyday lives. Likewise, the claim of belongingness is influenced by social interactions in the local and global sphere, as well as the negotiation of different social discourses about how to be young while growing up in a foreign society.

'Youth' and 'Belonging' in the context of 'Transnationalism'

The universal notion about 'youth' is constructed on the life phase basis, where the subject is transitioning from childhood to adulthood. Young people start to experience the world and act more independently from their parents in comparison to children. Even though their parents still influence their actions, as they have less agency than an adult. Nonetheless, this definition of 'youth' dismisses the reality of young transmigrants. The moment a person moves from one country to another, the connections beyond borders link that person to at least two different places because "transnational migration is the process by which immigrants forge and sustain simultaneous multi-stranded social relations that link together their societies of origin and settlement" (Schiller et al 1995: 48). Therefore, if a member of a family decides to migrate, the young become part of the transnational network, even before she/he migrate due to the connections with the family member abroad. Furthermore, the young transmigrant does not have a choice regarding their migration, as it is after a decision made by the parents. During the process of settling in the new country, the parents of young transmigrants shape the way they get to know their new society and their first interac-

tions with people. But, once they start the school, they find themselves in a diverse environment where physical and cultural differences are highlighted and connect them to a specific group or community.

According to Nira Yuval-Davis, "people can 'belong' in many different ways and to many different objects of attachments" (2006: 199). So, while young transmigrants grow up in a new society, they get involved in different activities with the 'others' and their peers in specific places, set routines that respond both to the family custom (pertaining to their country of origin) and to the cultural values of the new society. Therefore, in the case of young transmigrants, their belongingness is seldom fixed to one location or community; instead, their practices and constant interactions on the local and global spheres impact the dynamics of the development of their belongingness.

Transnational Migration in Spain

Spain is a country that since the 1990□s switch from being a sending transmigrant country into a receiving transmigrant country. This is because "a reduced rate of investment was combined with economic restructuring, recession, and high unemployment. Since low wages were the only means for businesses to retain a competitive edge, employers turned to immigrant workers" (Bruquetas Callejo et al 2008: 4). Simultaneously, countries in Latin-America, like Ecuador or Bolivia, were facing a depth economic crisis and political instability. Thus, people from Latin-American countries started to move to Spain due to the labour scarcity and low quality of welfare services in their countries. Additionally, at the beginning of the 2000's, Spain became one of the main options for transmigrants from Romania and Morocco because the country "is shown as an entrance door to developed Europe for immigrants aiming a new future" (González and La□zaro 2007: 134). Although Spain was dealing with high rates of transnational migration, at the beginning of the twenty-first century, the Latin-American transmigrants were privileged compared the other transmigrant communities due to their 'cultural proximity' to Spain. Hence, to share the same language, religious practices, and some social values, promoted social interactions between Latin-American transmigrants and the Spaniards, impacting in the social dynamics and organization of Spanish cities.

Cities like Murcia and Granada became transnationally marked because of the production of new places and the convergence of Spanish and Latin-American cultural values. Within this context, young Latin-American transmigrants establish routines, friendships and build home. Nonetheless, despite their 'privileged' position in comparison to other transmigrants communities, the Latin-American transmigrant face difficulties due to a cultural gap. The differences in the language (such as slang and accents), values, and customs connects the young transmigrants to different societies. But, the awareness of these differences impact in the way the young transmigrants see themselves, interact with the 'others' and perform in their daily lives. Furthermore, they deal with differences between social discourses regarding what 'youth' means. Therefore, within this social context, young Latin-American transmigrants living in Spain develop a plural sense of belonging that challenges any assumption of 'belonging' as fixed to one geographical location or community.

According to Nira Yuval-Davis, "people can 'belong' in many different ways and to many different objects of attachments" (2006: 199). So, while young transmigrants grow up in a new society, they get involved in different activities with the 'others' and their peers in specific places, set routines that respond both to the family custom (pertaining to their country of origin) and to the cultural values of the new society. Therefore, in the case of young transmigrants, their belongingness is seldom fixed to one location or community; instead, their practices and constant interactions on the local and global spheres impact the dynamics of the development of their belongingness.

Research Questions

In order to understand how the belonging sense is developed when the transnational interactions of young Latin-Americans impact in the construction of an identity and daily practices while they grow up in Spain, I proposed the following research question:

How do young Latinas/os transmigrants residing in Granada Murcia develop a sense of belonging?

Additionally, I proposed the following sub questions:

a. *How the different intersections among young Latino transmigrants have impact their identity construction and belonging sense?*
b. *How young Latin-American immigrants' experiences in the Spanish education system have influenced their sense of belonging?*
c. *How young Latino transmigrants manage to find their own ways to build home?*
d. *How the Latin- American transmigration in Granada and Murcia has impact in the places production within the cities?*

To answer these research questions, I found the ethnography a very useful approach along with other qualitative techniques[1].

Methodology

Ethnographic research focuses on every day's practices and the interactions of people in a specific time and space. To capture what might 'naturally' occur in people's everyday life, a researcher observes how the people studied "view the situations they face, how they regard one another, and also how they see themselves" (Hammersley and Atkinson 2007: 3). Then the researcher moves towards a theoretical description of these situations that "is more a matter of moving in our interpretive analysis between theory and empirical social facts in a dialectic that often reshapes our theoretical ideas as well as our view of the empirical data" (Cerwonka and Malkki 2007: 15). Additionally, it is important to consider that the knowledge produced in a research responds a particular time and space where the person interacts and lives. Likewise, is necessary to look for the different intersections (age, gender, ethnicity, socio-economic status, etc.) across

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[1] I developed the following sections based on my essay *"Ethnography and Research with young migrants"* for the 3303 'Ethnographic Research and Reflexivity in Development Contexts' course.

the subject that contest any universal and static idea about the subject. (Li 2014: 18).

To understand how young Latin-American transmigrants claim their belongingness while transitioning into adulthood, it was necessary to observe and participate in their cities of residence. However, I considered that only by doing Participant Observation and interviewing the young transmigrants was too limited for the purposes of my research. First, being an 'active observer' does not entitle me to fully understand about a situation in somebody else's life, because "people are 'experts' on their own lives and therefore should be empowered to play a prominent role in research about them" (Mitchel et al 2007: 618). Second, even if an interview could help me to comprehend or to clear some doubts I might have about an event or a topic, the person studied "is separate from their routine experiences and practices in 'natural' environments" (Kusenbach 2003: 462). Hence, to be with the participants in the places, promoted a deeper insightful about their claims. Thus, I looked for other qualitative techniques that could help me to capture people's everyday practices in a different manner where the researched is the protagonist of the process.

Doing an ethnographic research with additional qualitative techniques ('photo-voice', 'going along', and 'journals') was an appropriate way to complement my field research. First, the 'Photo-Voice' is a technique based on the act of taking pictures and the reflection on the image. In the research, it was assigned to take pictures of different places in the city the participants lived and where they feel to belong. Then we met and talked about their reflections on the photo. The relation made about belonging and places had a positive effect. The young participants reflected in their earlier years as young and used old and new pictures to speak about themselves and their belongingness in a historical context. Second, 'Going Along' was proposed as a complement of the 'Photo-Voice'. It was about going with the participants to the places where the photos were taken and talk about it. Sometimes, the participants proposed to meet close to the place so we could walk to the place, just like they do in their routines. This action, of walking around with them and doing the same things, stimulated them to present the place's surroundings, to talk about the memories they had about the place and to point out other things that happen around the place and are appreciated by them like a dance performance on the street or an ice-cream shop that is an obligatory stop when they go there. Finally, the 'journal' was proposed as an optional activity where they could write about their day, a situation that could have affected them while participating in the research. It was used by two of the participants who wrote down some reflections about their life and the changes they have perceived while growing up. Some of this thoughts were brought to the meetings. Therefore, the data I gathered through the three qualitative techniques complemented additional information from the interviews and my notes from my active observation in the cities.

However, the information gathered through the different techniques should not be considered as pure data dig up from the field. Rather is the result of my involvement as a researcher, the decisions I made in the process and the young transmigrants' participation. Therefore, the data "is seen as constitutive (if not completely so), both of the researcher and of the other involved in the research process" (Rose 1997: 315). Thus, similarities between me and the participants influenced the process of research. My position as insider stimulated the reflection on some topics, like gender or migration. But, because I was a

stranger to their reality, they felt safer to speak about their personal stuff and reflected more about the different issues I brought up and questioned. So rather than being just two subjects who met in a specific context with a defined purpose, the researcher and researched are socially constructed within the dynamic of the research (Rose 1997: 314). Hence, it is worth to dedicate some lines to my positionality in the research.

A Close Stranger Researching Young Latinas/os in Southern Spain

As a researcher, my multiple identities played an important role in the research process. My physical characteristics, language/slang familiarity and age proximity promoted the bonding between me and the participants that located me in different positions towards them. A position that I also assumed. Hence, "the relationship between researcher and researched can only be mapped in one of two ways: either as a relationship of difference, articulated through an objectifying distance: or as a relationship of sameness, understood as the researcher and researched being in the same position" (Rose 1997: 313). But, as I had experienced, there is a third way. The researcher can be looked at in both positions insider/outsider and being switched from one to another (by the researched) in different moments of the research. Thus, it is a task for the researcher to reflect on the different situations and the position she/he was located and assumed to understand how it has affected the research and the knowledge and production.

My multiple identities as an Ecuadorian, part Spaniard, woman, unemployed, student, starter researcher and former psychologist, promoted a connection with my participants and influenced their responses. Some of them bonded because I am a young Ecuadorian transmigrant. They (the Ecuadorians) constantly involved me in their discourses while they explained a situation regarding Ecuador, like the food, the customs. Likewise, from my position as an 'insider' I was able to perceived differences between groups of people (Latin-American and Spaniards) due to the different physical marks (heights, skin and hair color, etc.) and the slang used by the participants (especially the Ecuadorians). But my 'outsider' position was also recognized by the participants when they discussed with me about a reality that differed from my assumptions, asked me about my temporarily visit and research, the rumors they have heard from their friends, family, or news about Latin-America or Ecuador. Furthermore, I was recognized in different places (restaurants or parks) or social events, as an outsider. Moving around the city with a backpack, asking and talking about places, my foreigner accent, recording the interviews, writing down in my notebook and taking pictures gave the 'others' the perception of my position as a stranger. Hence, for a better understanding of my positionality, in the following chapters, the reader will find some quotes that highlight my multiple identities and their role in the research process.

Doing Ethnographic Research with Young Transmigrants in Southern Spain

My field research took place from the 17th of July to 2nd of September in two cities of Southern Spain, Granada (Autonomous Community of Andalusia) and Murcia (Autonomous Community of Murcia). Granada has always been acknowledged as a colourful and diverse city. The influence of the Spanish Roma culture through the 'flamenco' shows in the streets and in the 'Tablaos' (a place

where Flamenco is played and perform in front of an audience) and the historic ties with the Arabs community expressed in different buildings of the city, souvenirs and the 'Alhambra' (architectural complex of Arab and Catholic palaces) turned the city an attractive point for tourism. Hence, the social dynamics and the places of the city are affected by the transmigrant residents but also by the temporary migrants, like the tourists. Therefore, I considered necessary to push forward the research in a city without the tourism as the main resource and impacted by the migration from Latin-America. Following this, Murcia appeared as the most suitable option due to the geographical proximity (3 hours by bus) and my relationship with the city due to family ties. In contrast of Granada, Murcia is less diverse and is recognized as 'La Huerta' (The Garden) of Spain. Hence, the agriculture is one of the most important labor sectors of the city. Due to the different features in each city, especially the high demand in the agriculture and services sector, turned Granada and Murcia into receiving societies for Latin-American migrants since the late 90´s. But the Latin-America migration flow in both cities impacted in such way that new places marked by ethnicity appeared and the introduction of new cultural values changed the social dynamics and organization of Murcia and Granada. Along with the social context, the time also shaped the process of research.

The field research took place in the mid of the summer (from July to August). Hence, some dynamics within the cities changed. Both cities, especially Granada, were full of tourists and the high temperatures of the summer promoted less activity in the streets between 2 pm to 8 pm. People started to go out after that time to eat or drink. It was usual to see people in the streets looking for ice cream shops after their dinners. Furthermore, most of the cultural events in public spaces started after 10 pm. Hence, most of my meetings happened in the morning before noon or in the night after 8 pm. Finally, it is the custom that the Spaniards leave the city and move to the closest towns or beach during their summer holiday. So, most of the participants commented that they weren´t going out with their friends because none of them were in the city. This circumstance was positive for the research because they had more time to meet and to walk around the city while we talked.

After my field research, I transcribed the interviews. I decided to keep them in Spanish, for two reasons. First, I wanted to retain the essence of the participants' narratives of belonging. Second, I considered that the slang and the ways my participants speak Spanish related them to specific places and supports their claim of belonging. Afterwards, I coded the interviews and analysed them along with my notes from my observation in different places (neighbourhoods, restaurants, parks, plazas). So, more than a comparative exercise about young Latina/o's transmigrants' living in two geographically close and socially distant cities, this paper illustrates the plurality of belonging through the narratives of the identity construction, practices of belonging and places for belonging of ten young Latina/o's transmigrants.

Who they are…? Introduction of the Participants

To answer my research question, I looked for young people from Spanish speaking countries in Latin-America, in their twenties, single or in a relationship without children. Because one of my research's focus was the daily practices and interactions of young people, I considered the 'Snow Ball' technique as a means to find participants. Before arriving in Spain, I contacted a friend who has been

living in Granada for four years. She introduced me to Gaby, who later on suggested her sister, Estefanía, for the research. Also, in order to meet other young people, I attended the Colombian Independence Day celebration, organized by the Colombian Association 'La Verdadera Colombia' in the Zaidín neighborhood. Hence, at the event, I met Álex, Gabriela, and Alejandra. Although I met more young people in other places (a church, restaurant, and the beach) none of them fit the profile I was looking for[2]. So, I worked with the five participants and finished the process in Granada in order to start the research in the next city. Because of the suggestion of an Ecuadorian friend of my family, in Murcia I started the research through a visit to a Latino restaurant. There, I met Vicky, who was working as a waitress. While I was ordering some food, she recognized me as an Ecuadorian for my accent. So, while eating, we talked about Ecuador. Afterwards, I explained to Vicky the purpose of my research, to what she agreed on participating. Also, she suggested me some of her friends to the research. Afterwards, I met Paty and Sara. Later on, Sara proposed two of her friends for the research, Nacho, and Víctor. Therefore, by the end of the research, I ended up with ten participants (five in Murcia and five in Granada).

In Table 1, I provide some relevant data about the participants. This information along with Annex 1, will help the reader to easily identify the participants through the paper. Additionally, because the participants felt part of the research, their real first names are presented in the paper. Nonetheless, the following chapters will present more information about each participant to understand who they are and their position as young transmigrants in Granada and Murcia.

Table 1: Participants Introduction

Participant	Country of Origin	City of Residence	Current Age	Years Living in Spain
Gaby	Ecuador	Granada	23	15
Estefanía	Ecuador	Granada	23	15
Álex	Peru	Granada	29	0.8
Gabriela	Bolivia	Granada	23	15
Alejandra	Bolivia	Granada	21	15
Vicky	Ecuador	Murcia	28	15
Paty	Ecuador	Murcia	24	10
Sara	Ecuador	Murcia	28	15
Víctor	Ecuador	Murcia	28	15
Nacho	Ecuador	Murcia	23	8

Source: Participants' Interview

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[2] Two of the young women I met in the trip to the beach (organized by 'La Verdadera Colombia' Association), have children. So, their narratives about belonging are perceived in a different manner due to their motherhood. One young women was 18 years old, so she was younger than the rest of the participants. Two young men, were in their thirties and studying a MA in Granada..

To conclude, to do an ethnographic research with complementary qualitative techniques was a suitable way to respond the question: *How do young Latin-American transmigrants residing in Granada Murcia develop a sense of belonging?* Thus, I selected ten young Latinas/os in their twenties, without children living either in Granada or Murcia. Although the reader will find that two of the participants did not attend Spanish high schools and recently moved to Spain, their exceptional experiences also contributed to the production of knowledge about belonging. Nevertheless, it is worth to highlight that the research process and further analysis was a result of the participants' involvement and the influence of my positionality in the research. Being recognized by the young participants as an insider, promoted two outcomes. First, the relationship between them and myself was productive for the fluidity of the research process. Second, my understanding of the issues brought in the interviews by the participants. Additionally, my position as an outsider allowed me to observe how the social dynamics in each city and the places within it had impacted on the participants' life and their claim of belonging. Hence, this paper is the production of a dynamic process between myself and the participants' narratives about their multiple sense of belonging within the transnational network.

What will the reader find…?

This paper aims to understand how a young Latina/o transmigrants developed a sense of belonging while they grow up in Granada and Murcia (Spain). Despite some 'similarities' between Latin-American countries and Spain, the differences between cultures have impacted the way the young transmigrants see themselves and want to be recognized by the 'others'. This situation influenced their practices and interactions while they navigate in cities transnationally marked. So, in 'Chapter 1', it will be explained how the young transmigrants construct their identity and negotiate with the discourse of their parents and the 'others' about how to be young. In 'Chapter 2', the young transmigrants experiences during the high school and their encounter with the 'others' promoted the adoption of some practices to blend into a specific group. However, after the high school, they started to work on their life project and build home which is influenced by their transnational interactions. Finally, in 'Chapter 3', the impact of transnational migration in the cities promoted the production of ethnic mark places. The young transmigrants challenge the connections between places and people through their navigation in the transnational landscape of the cities. Without more to say, I hope the reader enjoys this paper as much as I did in the research and the writing process.

Chapter 2 | 'Young Transmigrants: Identity And Belonging'

Migration is a process in which the person had decided to leave her/his country of origin (and what that place represented for her/him), followed by the arrival into a new country and the attempt to take part in it with a plan thought in advance. So, "migration is invariably a process that dissociates individuals from their family and friendship networks, as well as from other socially significant referents that have strong emotional connotations" (Skrbiš 2008: 236). In my research, all the participants who moved to Spain when they were children, did it as a result of their parents' choice who were searching for better livelihoods and the improvement of their family welfare and children education. Albeit, two of the participants moved as young men and they based that decision in their professional improvement and better welfare. Alex, a young Peruvian, moved to Granada ten months ago with a plan thought in advanced. Although this has not resulted how he intended, because he came without his documentation legalized to work nor to study. *"I wanted to come with a scholarship, but it did not happen…I came just with a birth certificate without the 'The Hague Apostille', so, I tell him (his partner) that I jumped into the swimming pool without knowing how to swim, now I am drowning".* However, he is not considering to go back, instead, he says he is trying to *"earn my day"* with any temporary job that he finds until he can legalize his residency through his marriage with José (his partner). Also, Víctor, a young Ecuadorian who came to Murcia in October of 2016 and has almost finished his masters, decided to go back to Ecuador by the end of September and work there in the near future because he claims the salaries are better in Ecuador. In addition, he claims that in Spain institutions ask for too many professional requirements, *"My idea was to move from a developing country to a developed one… I used to earn 1200 US dollars (in Ecuador), here I need to present certificates and to have two masters or a Ph.D. degree to work and earn the same as there".* Hence, moving from one country to another, even if that implies to go back to the country of origin like Victor's case, is a decision based on more job opportunities, livelihood improvement, and better welfare.

From this perspective, the social and economic opportunities provided by a country have a relevant role in migration and in the decision to settle down in a specific place. So, migration could be understood as a fixed and isolated process that has to do with the receiving country. Nevertheless, it is necessary to consider that relationships, objects, and resources from one country do not finish when the person moves, especially nowadays where technology and all the social media platforms promote the interactions and continuity of long-distance relations with the representatives' others (family, friends, partner) that were left behind. So, relationships and resources cannot be seen as fixed and geographically constrained but more as fluid and globally featured. Likewise, settling in the new society, reconstructing 'home' and establishing daily routines are influenced by the cultural values and normative, of at least, the former country of residence and the new one.

The process to start a new life can be complicated. "Dealing with memories of what used to be, the here and now, hopes and dreams for the future not only brings a sense of loss but also motivation to actions in the present" (Grønseth 2013: 14). Estefanía, a young Ecuadorian who came to Granada when she was eight years old, illustrates the re-establishment of her former practices and its interconnection to her family in Ecuador. She remembered that when she was a child in Quito (Ecuador) she attended the church with her grandparents and mother, but when she moved into Granada, she and her family couldn't attend anymore because they couldn't find the church (Adventist Church), until three years later because of her grandparent intervention that she remembered as: *"I found it (through the internet), you gotta go there (address) and if you still can´t find it, this is the phone number of the pastor, call him, he will pick you up… that´s what he told us and that´s what happened"*. Similarly happened early this year with the Presidential Elections in Ecuador, she and her twin sister Gaby went to vote because of her grandmother insistence: *"Please, you must go and vote, I am going to vote for this one…you have to be responsible"*. Also, Alejandra, a young Bolivian that came into Granada with her mother and older sister because her father was already working in the city, mentioned how she, her sister, and mother used to go to the Catholic Church because it was something they used to do in Bolivia with her family (which involves her grandparents). But, when both grandparents died, she decided not to follow their beliefs. Thus, an activity perceived as part of the past life also has the potential for new actions once the young transmigrant started their life and in the new country. Furthermore, the family ties held beyond the borders, add complexities that impact on the person practices while living their lives.

In accordance to this, "the study of migrating populations combines an emphasis on social relations, understood to be fluid and dynamic, yet culturally patterned, with an analysis of the global context" (Schiller et al 1992: 8). Thus, I propose to move away from the classic immigration studies and look at migrants from the transnational perspective in order to have a different insight regarding their narratives of belonging as young Latina/o transmigrants living in Granada and Murcia (Southern Spain).

From Migration to Transnationalism…

"Transnational migration is the process by which immigrants forge and sustain simultaneous multi-stranded social relations that link together their societies of origin and settlement" (Schiller et al 1995: 48). So, transmigrants built and reconstitute themselves by assuming and performing multiple identities within social networks, supported by technology and social media platforms, in multiple societies. (Schiller et al 1992: 1). Patty and Vicky, both are young Ecuadorian women living in Murcia since they were fourteen and thirteen years respectively. They keep in touch with some of their friends (from different cities in Ecuador) via Facebook. Also, Alejandra, who came to Granada when she was six years, said she knows her cousins through pictures in their social media like Instagram or Facebook. Nacho is a young Ecuadorian living in Murcia for the last eight years. He has friends from different towns inside the Region of Murcia and they keep in touch through text messages and social media too. Gaby, a young Ecuadorian that lives in Granada since she was eight years, has a long distance love relationship with her boyfriend who lives in Madrid (five hours away by bus

from Granada). Similarly, Vicky's boyfriend is living in Germany. In both cases, the young women keep contact with their loved ones through phone calls, text messages, social media apps, and visits. Even though, transnationalism looks at the linkages between two international places, it also makes emphasis in the other global connections a person might have, thus, "rather than geographical movement being the main focus of enquiry, attention is paid primarily to the relationships between people and places that configure the network" (Gardner 2012: 892).

Transnational migration allows us to rethink about the young participants' position in the transnational communities and how they were involved in the migration process even before they moved. So, "transnational children can live as part of settled communities with an established 'homeland' elsewhere, can move across borders for work, or be part of families and communities in which migration abroad is an established way of life: whilst some may migrate themselves, others may be left behind, according to circumstances" (Gardner 2012: 892). Alejandra's father came to Granada before all the family. This scenario was quite similar for Gabriela, Sara, Nacho, Gaby, Estefanía, and Vicky. However, being left behind can add more complexities when moving and familiarizing with the new environment. Patty and her younger sister were left in the care of her grandparents when she was five years old. Ten years later, her mother brought her and her sister into Murcia. After all that time, she claimed not knowing how to address her mother. So, she used to ask her grandmother to act as a mediator between herself and her mother, *"I didn't know my mother. It was difficult to me and I felt shame to ask her for things that I needed, so I used to call my grandmother so she could tell my mother what I needed"*. The participants' relationships illustrated above, shows transnational relationships are not cut or ended after migrating, but continuously maintained. Nevertheless, in all the cases presented above (except for Victor and Alex), the decision to migrate was done by their parents. Therefore, it is important to think about the dynamics of transnationalism and how age crosscut transmigrants' experiences along with gender.

Youth and Transnationalism

'Youth' is a social construction, acknowledged as a transition from childhood to adulthood, a life phase where young people have less agency in comparison to an adult. In the context of my research (except for Álex and Víctor) the participants experienced how their agency was constrained regarding their migration despite some of them were in their earlier years as young. *"I was an adolescent. My mother was the one who decided to bring us (his father and his older brother too) here to be with her"* (Nacho), *"I didn't want to come here, I already had my friends, my grandparents took care of me"* (Paty), *"My father was the first one, then was my mother, and then they brought us here"* (Vicky), *"We came here because of my parents' choice to keep the family together"* (Gabriela). Gaby and her twin sister Estefanía mentioned that they came to Granada on a vacation period to visit their father, but they never came back to Quito (Ecuador), *"We left all our stuff there, we were supposed to go back, but we didn´t"* (Estefanía). Likewise, to go back to their country of origin was not a choice, even if they'd wanted it. *"I missed my friends I thought about going back but I couldn't. I did not have more option than to adapt"* (Nacho). These quotes illustrate how the participants' agency was constrained in the beginning of their life in Spain. However,

the parents' previous experiences also guided the ways they were socially introduced and discovered the cities. In Murcia, all the participants were taken to the FICA, a recreational informal place, where their parents already know other Ecuadorians. Meanwhile, in Granada, Alejandra and Gabriela explored the city with his father who took them to different natural or no touristic mainstream spot in Granada for recreation. Likewise, Gaby and Estefanía were taken to the public activities for children in the centrum close to their apartment (a place that was carefully picked by their father considering that all family was moving to Granada). Hence, moving into Spain, getting to know the city of residence and meeting new people was done through the parents' perceptions, leaving aside what they wanted to do or go.

So far, the participants' parents (except for Álex and Víctor) played a key role in the beginning of the young transmigrants' new life in Granada or Murcia. Nevertheless, while growing up, the young transmigrants started to participate in other spaces, like the high school and to choose new relationships that impacted their own identity and sense of belonging. However, it is important to consider that 'belonging' and 'identity' are ongoing process affected by the subject position in different contexts and situations (in the local and the global). Thus, to understand how 'identity' (that also involves the stereotypes negotiation) and 'belonging' are constructed while the young transmigrant becomes an adult transmigrant, it is important to look at how young people construct their relationships with whom they interact and their agency in the position they occupy towards the other (Näsman and Närvänen 2004: 72).

Identity Construction and Generational Negotiation

To be 'young' implies a transition from being a 'child' to be an 'adult'. This 'in-between stage' is a period of time where many questions pop up regarding their subjectivity construction and the assumed identities towards the representative 'Others' (parents or teachers), and the similar 'others' (friends, love partner). However, "those involved in transnational migration actively maintain simultaneous, multistranded social relations linking their place of origin and destination, encouraging us to rethink the notion that people and their identities are firmly linked to specific places and questioning the idea that these identities are stable" (Boyle 2016: 533). Hence, a young transmigrant is not only transitioning from one life phase to another one but is constantly moving between discourses, values, and expectations from at least two societies that will influence their identity, appearance, and behavior that relates them to a specific place. Participants in the research expressed different situations in which they are implicitly caught in between two places, except for Vicky's, who is dealing and growing between three different societies Santo Domingo (Ecuador), Murcia (Spain) and Hannover (Germany).

One of the most recurrent questions during this stage is about gendered identities. The answers will depend in part on the social context, cultural values, and discourses but also in the 'models' that the subject could identify her/himself to construct its own identity. But, the infinite answers that young transmigrant can assume might challenge their position as daughters or sons and the way they are looked at by the others. So, in one hand young transmigrants have to deal with their parents' expectations that correspond to a system of values from a different cultural and social context. In the other hand, young transmigrants have to negotiate with the visible differences (like skin color, type of hair) and the stereotypes between them and the other. Thus, young transmigrants deal with the fact that "gendered identities shift according to place, as well as over the life-course" (Gardner 2012: 900). So, in the following section we will see how in earlier years, the participants managed to look and behave in different ways that depended on the context and the people surrounding them.

Parenting Young Transmigrants: Between the Cultural and Generational Gap

The way parent´s raise daughters in a different society from theirs can be experienced as contradictory from the perspective of the young girl and boy. The discrepancies between the parents' discourse and the social discourses about 'being a young woman' differed due to different cultural values and the time where the parents grew up and where the young women live. This was expressed by the participants as the difficulties they faced with the parenting in their families. So, I will briefly mention some similarities about the parents' background built on the young women narratives. All the parents were born and came from Latin-America in the late 90's or beginning of 2000, their age is around the late forties and mid-fifties, and they came from middle and lower middle socio-economic class. Meanwhile, the daughters, live their childhood in Latin-American and started to live their youth in Spain. Hence, some of the recurrent topics for discussion among the young women and their family were about the protection/safeness, their responsibilities in the house and love relationships. However, the young women have found different ways to challenge the roles and expectations attributed to them by the parents.

Regarding the safeness of daughters, Gabriela said *"my father is more protective and my mother comprehensive, but both of them fear for me when I go out at night…if I were a 'tío' (which means 'man'), I would be able to go out until late"*. Other participants mentioned *"she (her mother) said: this is how I was raised, you need to understand me…"*, *"my mother said that by 9 pm was the time the party was over in her time, so she does not understand why we want to go out at that time"* (Estefanía) or *"she (his mother) just told me: 'go safe and don't come back too late'… it's like young women need to be controlled (by their parents, especially fathers) and young man does not need that… I had discussed this with my group of friends, and Katrina who is twenty-three years old, has this kind of difficulties, she still needs to ask for permission"* (Nacho). Despite all the sayings they had come up with diverse forms to challenge their position as 'daughters' and as 'growing up women'. Alejandra said *"Sometimes I disobeyed just to bother him (her father), to prove how far I could go with my freedom"*, *"I simply didn´t pick up the phone… I went out to party and then came back home"* (Sara) and *"my mother used to tell us to be at home at 9 pm, but how can you go out with your friends if by the time they are meeting you must be at home if you*

can't go out with your friends regularly there is no way to bond with them, so you ended up losing them… It was difficult, I asked my mother to send me to the psychologist, I couldn't take it anymore" (Estefanía). These quotes illustrates the need of the parents for control their daughters in order to protect from any harm or danger they might be exposed for being in the streets. Nevertheless, the participants perceived this protection as marked by their gender undermining their position as young women in relation to their friends.

The assignation of responsibilities inside home is also crosscut by their age and gender. Some of them mentioned how they have accepted this situation but also have pushed the discussions of their shores and achieved a change. Sara's mother used to tell her *"when you come to age you need to know how to be a 'woman' for your husband"*, implying that she should take care of the household like her mother did. Sara has confronted her parents about her role in the house and the lack of cooperation from her younger brother and father by saying *"Imagine that I was born a boy"*, *"We all live here, you (her father) have to help with the house cleaning as well"*. Although her father reprimanded her, with the pass of the time, her mother (in charge of the family) redistributed the shores among all members of the family. Sara finds this outcome as something good for all of them that breaks with the stereotypes of gender she refuses to follow. But in the case of Gaby and Estefanía, to be the older daughters and in charge of their siblings' care has been perceived as an advantage for all the family. Both sisters opted to mediate between her mother and young brother so he can go out with his friends without too many difficulties like the ones they experienced years before. Furthermore, during one of my meetings, Gaby received a phone call from her mother and spoke about picking up her sister and welcoming her brother into the house that day. Hence, their role within the household as daughters (or older daughters) has been accepted, up to some extent. They managed to find a middle point as young women part of a transnational family.

Finally, one of the most discussed topics among participants was about the love relationships. So, parents' sayings and silences related to their daughters and their relationships, has been perceived as warnings to protect their integrity. Vicky pointed out the differences between herself and her brother regarding permissions for dating. *"He (her father) tells to my brother to go out and have a lot of girlfriends, instead, he had never said that to me… it's like a taboo at home"*. Also, every time she travels to Germany to visit her boyfriend, she has a discussion with her father *"why are you going there? To follow that guy"*. Likewise, Gabriela has discussed with her father when she wants to travel with her boyfriend. *"I went to the mountains with my boyfriends and he (her father) was telling me to go to the cinema because it is closer, to stay 'tranquilita' (to stay quiet)"*. Meanwhile, Alejandra remembered her father reprimand about her trip to the beach with her boyfriend. He told her *"I didn't use to that, you should not follow him"*. Gaby, who is constantly traveling to Madrid to visit her boyfriend do not has this discussion with her mother. However, she explained that her mother has an agreement with the parents of her boyfriend about her care inside and outside the house. Nonetheless, all the confrontations with their parents did not stop the young girls to travel and spend some time with their partners. Nevertheless, this situation is a topic for discussion for the young women because their parents' values differed from the social context they live in.

To be part of a transnational family, pushed the participants to reflect on their role as daughters inside and outside the household and their identity as young women. Nevertheless, the participants have found different ways to fill the cultural and generational gaps in issues regarding their responsibilities within the family, their safeness outside the house and their behavior within their relationship. However, in the process of identity construction, the interactions with the 'others' also impact and shape the way the young women look and behave in different contexts.

Negotiating Identity in the 'Others' Context

For young women, growing up in a transnational context can be perceived as challenging because of the discrepancies she/he might find the parents and the social discourse. However, when they are outside the family, visible differences appear and are experienced through the 'others' perceptions. Dissimilarities in the way they look (clothing, make-up) can give an idea of 'Who this young women are?'. In the research, being identified by the 'others' as a 'Latina' exposed the young women to many stereotypes that have shaped their identity from a gender and ethnic perspective. Hence, in this final section, quotes of the participants will illustrate how the visible differences between them and the 'other' impacted them and what they did to diminish the differences in relation to the 'other young girls'.

Appearances are marked by age. So, while going from 'childhood' into 'youth', differences between the subject and the 'others' are more visible. Thus, "in the space of a few years, months or even weeks, children may discover (or have foisted upon them) new gendered identities, moving from the role of 'child' in which clothing and activity remain relatively ungendered, to 'young woman' or 'young man', where new forms of behavior are required" (Gardner 2012: 900). In their earlier years, to be part of a group, either Spaniard or Latina, depend on the differences based on the appearances and behavior. When Gaby and Estefanía were fourteen years, they observed how the 'other' young girls in the school looked more 'mature' by wearing make-up and less 'childish' clothes (like theirs). *"They were painted (wearing makeup) like doors, they looked more mature than us, we felt different… we decided to change ourselves to be with them".* So, the young girls started to wear less 'childish' clothes and beg their father to buy a hair straightener. The changes were noticed by their peers and resulted in a feeling of acceptance into the group. *"We came back after the summer break so changed that boys started to look at us (she and her twin sister)"* (Estefanía). Similarly, the decision to change the look also responded to a failed relationship. After her first break up, Vicky decided to change her look. *"I started to wear makeup, use high heels, to comb my hair in a better way. I wanted to feel pretty".* However, the outfits can also be marked by the customs from the country of origin. During her first year in Murcia, Paty wore pants all year despite the seasons because that how an 'Ecuadorian girl' looks like. Nonetheless, now that they are in their twenties, instead of following a trend, they have found their own style. Estefanía no longer straight all her hair but she leaves some waves in it, Vicky just dresses to feel comfortable, and Paty only wears dresses rather than skirts or shorts like many of her friends during the summer. Hence, in the context of transnationalism, the visible difference perceived by the participants and the 'other' young girls, changed the way they looked and wanted to be looked. Although through the pass of the years,

they managed to find their own look as young women, this process has been influenced by the 'others' perceptions about being a young Latina.

Stereotypes surrounding a 'Latina', have exposed the young transmigrants to difficult situations that have made them reflect about their identity. This situation was emphasized by one young women and less mentioned in the other cases. To be a young woman who was born in Latin-America, exposed them to stereotypes comments. For Gabriela, the assumptions surrounding a 'Latina' always link to passion and sensuality. *"He (her boyfriend) says that because we are 'Latinos', we are too passionate… I don´t know if it is true but I don´t think it has to do with being 'Latino'"*. She claims to feel underestimated and *"It feels like if I couldn´t get out of that stereotype, it's too limited, but then I go and prove myself that it´s not like that. He (her boyfriend) has told me that I am not the typical 'Latina'"*. However, she identifies herself as a 'Granadina' rather than a 'Latina'. In contrast to this situation, Estefanía, who identifies herself as a 'Latina', recognizes her 'passion' when she defends her culture from her friends. Hence, the claims about identity were the result of stereotypes negotiation between the young women and the 'others'. Some of the assumptions about 'being Latina' have been partially embraced or fully rejected. So, the young transmigrant women constructed their identity in relation to how they want to be perceived in order to face the difficulties as young transmigrants while transitioning from 'girl' to 'woman'.

To conclude, after migrating, the relationships that are held in the local and the global sphere affected the way the transmigrants built their identity. However, young transmigrants found themselves caught in between time (childhood-adulthood) and space (sending and receiving country). So, as part of a transnational family, to be a daughter was perceived as difficult because of the cultural and generational gaps between the parents and the society they live in. Additionally, when the young transmigrants encounter the 'others', the differences between them and the 'others' along with the stereotypes about their identity (related to their ethnicity) impacted the way they look and wanted to be look. But, through the pass of the time, the young transmigrants find different ways to answer the question: 'Who I am?' depending on the context they are. Nonetheless, the process of identity construction is far from being finished. The interactions and their routines also influence the young transmigrants identities. Therefore, I proposed to look at the daily practices carried on by the young transmigrants in the research and how these speak about who they are which is closely related to where they feel to belong.

Chapter 3 | 'Belonging Practices Of Young Latin-American Transmigrants'

In the process of starting a new life after moving into Spain, young transmigrants are exposed to a culturally diverse environment such as the school. In this place, the differences, perceived as marked by gender and ethnicity, influence the identity construction of the young transmigrants. Additionally, because of the dissimilarities between the young transmigrants and the 'others', they were identified as foreigners and to belong somewhere else. Nevertheless, "is not just about social locations and constructions of individual and collective identities and attachments but also about the ways these are valued and judged" (Yuval-Davis 2006: 203). Thus, the young transmigrants decided to adopt certain practices and changes in order to blend in a group.

The first manner to diminish the difference was through the language. Even though the participants speak Spanish, their accent and slang connect them to a different place from Spain. But, language is also a means for personal interactions, followed by the establishment of friendships and belongingness in a group. Being part of a group implies that a Subject 'A' makes a claim about her/his belongingness and a Subject 'B' acknowledges and grant that claim. Also, the Subject 'A' assumes an identity and makes choices that correspond to the interests of the group. However, after the high school, the young transmigrants started to plan their future through a 'life project'. In this period of time (sixteen-nineteen years), they started to think on their 'life project' and reflect about what is home based on the transnational relationships and opportunities provided by a place. Hence, during this period of time (thirteen-nineteen year) the young transmigrants belongingness was expressed in terms of their speaking, the interactions with the 'others', their life project and home.

The Language of Belonging

When transmigrants from Spanish speaking Latin-America countries move into Spain, language does not pose as a difficulty but as an advantage in comparison to the African or East European transmigrants. Nevertheless, assuming that sharing the language does not imply a difficulty, limits the scope to understand the potential of language to belong. For the young transmigrants, to speak to the 'others' allows them to interact with them and connect them to a group or community. So, in one hand, language is used as a means to interact with the 'others'. On the other hand, language is a means to differentiate the 'we' from 'them'.

As a starting point, the difference between the Spanish of a Latin-American and a Spaniard is strongly perceived by the lack of accent differentiation in the 'c', 's' and 'z' and the different uses of some words. Also, inside Spain, the Spaniards speak with different accents and slangs that depends on their region/city of residence. Hence, if a young Latina/o moves to any of these cities, their speaking would be influenced by the city's accent. In other words, an Ecuadorian from Granada will not speak in the way as an Ecuadorian from Murcia. The young participants dealt with this differentiation during the high school.

To communicate or to understand what was requested from the teachers was a challenge for them. Paty, who was immediately registered in her school a couple of days after her arrival, used to carry a notebook and wrote down the words and its meaning to understand what was asked. *"They call 'goma' (the Spanish word for eraser) instead of 'borrador' (Ecuadorian word for eraser) or 'cera' (the Spanish word for crayons) instead of 'crayones' (the Ecuadorian word for crayons)"*. But, the difficulties of language were also acknowledged by the authorities in the school. Vicky, who was brought into the school on her third day in Murcia, remembered that her teachers and peers were constantly telling her the meaning of words or inviting her to the lunch break to eat or play. *"I think they (school authorities) told them to help or support me because that's what they told us when a new kid arrived at the school"*. Nevertheless, in Granada, the participants found necessary to adopt the accent. Estefanía, mentioned that when she was thirteen years, in order to communicate with her Spaniard friends, she needed to change her Ecuadorian accent and Ecuadorian slang. *"I wish I could keep speaking with my accent and words, there are many 'Latino' words that they don´t understand"*. Likewise, Álex, who moved in January, was confident about *"not changing my way of speaking, I didn´t understand why my friends used to do that when they came back from Chile or Argentina, now I get it"*. But, he found himself in the need to do it because *"I couldn´t communicate with people, I didn´t understand them and they didn´t understand me"*. Therefore, in order to interact with someone outside the family context, the young transmigrants needed to learn new words and adopt the accent.

Marco Antonsich proposes that "language can certainly be activated in the politics of belonging, demarcating 'we' from 'them'" (2010: 648). Following this idea, I argue that language, along with silences, gives to the subject a sense of 'belonging' to a specific group. Estefanía and Gaby (Ecuadorian sisters) and Alejandra and Gabriela (Bolivian sisters) arrived in Granada when they were around 6-8 years. Although their experiences happened years before the rest of the participants, being identified as 'them' from the 'us' (Spaniards), was quite similar to those who arrived in their adolescence. This distinction resulted in stereotypes comments that shaped the way to address their peers in the high school. *"Where did you leave your animals (farm animals)?"* (Estefanía, Gaby), *"Do you speak Spanish? Why?"*, *"Did you used to wear loincloths?"* (Alejandra, Gabriela). Likewise, Vicky faced this language discrimination when she was fourteen years a classmate told her *"you don´t know how to speak, you are always saying 'ah?', you are Ecuadorian, you should go back to your country"*. In contrast to the other participants, Sara experienced silences. She interpreted it as a way to isolate her from the rest of her Spaniard classmates. Hence, in order to blend in the group or avoid the discrimination, the young transmigrants come up with creative solutions.

According to Gaby and Estefanía, they developed the ability to 'switch on and off' (that's how they call it) their Ecuadorian accents. This will depend on the social context they are. For example, when they attend to their church (where most of the members are Latinas/os) or meet with a Latina, like me, they 'switch on' their original accent, and 'switch it off' when they meet their Spaniards friends.

Picture 1: In the Church with other Latin-American transmigrants

Gaby (First one on the right) and Estefanía (Third one from right to left) in the Cult of their church. (Photo provided by Estefanía)

They do it to communicate with all people and not being treated differently, as it has happened. Meanwhile, Alejandra and Gabriela, are the only ones of the participants who have a strong 'Granadino' accent without hints of their Bolivian roots. Moreover, for Gabriela, speaking as a 'Granadina' is a proof of her belongingness. "*When people had asked me about where am I from, I say that I am 'Granadina', then they say that I am a not from Granada and I don´t feel like that. I act like them, I live here, I speak like one of them, I am Granadina*". In contrast of this, as an Ecuadorian, I clearly perceived the Ecuadorian accent from all the participants in Murcia. Paty, who has been living in Murcia for the last ten years explains *"I never used the 'c' or 'z'…there are people who've been living here for fifteen-twenty years and haven't lose their (Ecuadorian) accent"*. Furthermore, Vicky understands this situation as the result of having more interactions with Ecuadorians than Spaniards. Although, Sara claims to have a mixed accent because *"I mix everything"*, she has a strong Ecuadorian accent. Furthermore, she constantly uses the 'we' while speaking about herself because *"it's where I come from, I am from Ecuador, I say 'we' or 'my people' because I don´t want to forget that"*. Her case illustrates how the 'otherization' is towards the Spaniards in Spain, twisting the usual understanding about who can be perceived as an outsider.

The dynamics of the language demonstrates its relevance for the social interactions. Also, the language connects a person to a group or community because of the slang and accent. So, in order to be part of a specific group, the young transmigrants adopted some slang or accent. Hereafter they were involved in different practices that responded to their belongingness in the group.

Groups and Belongingness: The 'Us' and 'Them'

When a subject becomes part of a group, it is implicitly understood that all members of the group share the same language, interests and some identity characteristics, like gender, ethnicity, age, nationality, etc. Additionally, a group also carries on some normative and values that draw a difference between the group and the rest of people. Nira Yuval-Davis explains this as the 'Politics of Belonging'. "Is all about potentially meeting other people and deciding whether they stand inside or outside the imaginary boundary line of the nation and/ or other communities of belonging, whether they are 'Us' or 'Them'" (Yuval-Davis 2006: 204). So, there are two sides that take part in the claim of belonging: the subject who claims to belong and the other one that recognizes grants the belonging status (Antonsich 2010: 650). Nevertheless, the young participants contested the 'Us' and 'Them' through different practices outside the high school.

To hang out with friends, is frequently enjoyed by young people with more freedom in comparison to a child or an adult. In one hand, as a child, there is control from parents or other adults about where to go, whit whom or what to do. On the other hand, the adult face other situations as a parent or a professional that overlaps other affinities or interests that young people might share in a group. Although to work or to have kids can be part of some young people's life, in the context of the research this was not the case.

The participants who attended the high school in Spain explained that during that period of time (four years), they had to accomplish different individual assignments, and group projects, that were imposed by the education system. Inside their classrooms, most of the students were Spaniards, although there were more Latinas/os in the rest of the school. Hence, in the school, they established different friendships. Those relation influenced the choices they made in the earlier years when they started and pointed out their belongingness in different groups.

During the high school, some of the participants frequently 'skipped classes' in order to spend time with their group of friends because inside the classroom, the young students are constrained by the normative of the high school. For example, Estefanía and Gaby were always registered in the same class because students are distributed in alphabetical order of their last names. So, they were always together and shared the same group of friends. But, the students could also be distributed in accordance with their academic performance. This was the case of Sara. She was separated from her friends (Latin-Americans) because she was promoted to a 'better' class (where most of them were Spaniards) after her first year in the Spanish high school. So, she skipped classes to be with her friends of her former classroom and to feel in place. Also, Vicky skipped classes sometimes with her girl-friends (two Latinas and two Spaniards occasionally) in order to go home and dance 'Latin' music ('salsa' or 'reguetón'). Finally, Estefanía and Gaby used to skip classes and go to the parks or plazas because their friends (only Spaniards) 'iban de botellón' (went out to drink) and they accompanied as members of the group. Hence, 'to skip classes' was defined as a practice due to their belongingness in a group. Furthermore, the different practices like listening and dancing a specific genre of music or go to a park while drinking supported their claim of belonging.

Nonetheless, after the high school period, some of this relationships did not last. Some participants acquired a new responsibility, like a job, the others met new people and established new friendship more aligned with their interests for their future. So, during this period of time (sixteen-nineteen years) they reflected on their future and what is 'home'. So, while working on their 'life project', the opportunities provided in a specific society and the transnational relationships, promoted the consideration of other places to home.

Longing and Belonging: The ongoing construction of 'Home'

According to Nira Yuval-Davis, belonging sense "is about emotional attachment, about feeling at home" (2006: 197). In the context of migration, Sara Ahmed points out these emotional attachments and 'home' are part of what was left behind in the country of origin. So, the adult transmigrant works on the reconstruction of what used to be known as 'home' (Ahmed 2003: 9). Thus, 'home' is an ongoing process in which the remembrance and the aspirations of the immigrant plays an important role. But, this proposal dismisses two facts: the transnational connections and the youth component. First, 'home' is seen as the result of a reconstruction based on memories and nostalgia from the past of the migrant without consideration of the transnational relations that can influence the idea of 'home'. Second, 'home' is seen from an adult perspective. So, rather than re-building home, the young transmigrant is recently building it. Although their childhood memories and the relationships hold across the globe (with family or friends) may give them a sense a longing, their idea of 'home' is based on their future instead of the past. So, 'home' is an ongoing process where the emotional attachment takes part in just like Ahmed argues, but is also related to the 'sense of belonging' like Yuval-Davis claims. Therefore, I propose to look at the work in progress of a 'life project' of young transmigrants as an answer to what could be 'home'.

After finishing the Secondary Compulsory Education, students in Spain must decide whether to go to the Professional School or the University. It is also possible to do a Professional study along with university studies or to get a Professional degree and then register in the University. Frequently, students are around sixteen years when they made this choice. Vicky was the only one who decided to do a Professional career because she faced personal and academic difficulties while finishing her secondary studies. After two years, she finished a career in 'Restaurants and Hotel Services' and worked for eight years in restaurants in Murcia. Currently, she is planning to start another professional career in 'Pharmacy' because that is a more attractive job for her. Alejandra (in Granada) and Nacho (in Murcia) graduated in Psychology in the past twelve months. Although they have not decided an MA programme, they want to study one in their respective cities. Sara is finishing a bachelor in 'Political Science' and is studying her second year of 'Law'. Paty is also studying 'Political Science'. Gabriela, moved four years ago from Granada to Seville to study Engineer at Aerospatiale. Estefanía has a professional career in Finances. She is finishing her bachelor at Finances and Administration. Finally, Gaby is in the last semesters of 'Human Resources' and have accomplished a professional career related to her bachelor's. Although Victor and Alex recently came to Spain, they both considered studying a master programme as one of the reasons to move to Spain. However,

as it has been mentioned before, Victor planned to go back to Ecuador and Alex is still working on his plan to work or study.

The young transmigrants narratives about what they study or their professional choices came along with hints of their sense of belonging. In Murcia, Patty and Nacho had been awarded a Spanish scholarship when they started the University. Both mentioned that the scholarship made them feel part of Murcia because *"the State (Spain) gave me a scholarship, so I think I am part of here"* (Nacho), *"I don´t belong here or there, you have half of your life here and half of your life there… here I was awarded a scholarship from the Government (Spanish Government)"* (Patty). Gabriela, who claims to be 'Granadina' spoke about her decision of leaving her home to live in Seville as a way to gain more independence. But, her attachment to Granada is expressed through her comments of 'La Alhambra' as the most beautiful Arab palace in Spain and a part of herself in comparison to 'Real Alcázar' of Seville (palaces). Additionally, she considers her career election as something that distinguishes her from the rest. She said: *"I don´t want to be recognized as different (because of her birth country), but to be different in a good way like my career"*.

Additionally, in this period of time, some of them look for activities beyond the University as a complement to their career. Alejandra had participated in an internship as a facilitator for social workshops while she was studying. By the time of the research, she was accepted in a similar temporarily job due to her previous experience. Her sister, Gabriela worked as an intern for maintenance of motors at the Air Force in Granada during last year summer. Estefanía had worked in 'Caja Rural Granada' as an intern and hopes to apply again (either for a job or internship) in the coming months because she wishes to keep working in the finance area. Sara has worked in a transnational seasonal work programme in France a couple of years ago. She wanted to experience what 'her people' go through in the agriculture sector and *"I wanted to earn my own money"*. In contrast of Sara, some of the participants work because they need to pay their own bills. Patty has been working in the same Hotel for the last two years and reflected about salaries difference between Spain and Ecuador. She concluded that because of her job in Murcia, she can afford a lifestyle that differs from one in Ecuador, *"I do not see myself with a car there"*. So, she is struggling about going back to Ecuador to live there. After finishing his career in Psychology, Nacho found a job at Domino's. He says that he works there because is part of growing up.

The ongoing construction of the young transmigrants' 'life project' have taken place in their residence cities. They applied in different Spanish social programs (like internships and scholarships) and Spanish institutions (such as the university, the Air Force or private organizations) which attach them to Granada or Murcia. However, the relationships hold abroad their respective cities, with family or partner, influence the practices they carry on today to build home somewhere else.

Paty, who finds her lifestyle in Murcia as a good one in comparison to Ecuador, is considering the possibility to go back to Ecuador. *"After finishing my career, I will like to go back, because you miss your family despite the things you can afford here"*. Meanwhile, Vicky, worked for six years until she got sick due to the labor stress. In 2015, she requested a subsidy from the Government for being unemployed. In that time, she took Germany language courses because she is planning to move to Hannover (Germany) with her boyfriend. Although her family in Ecuador have asked about her returning, she does not want to live in Ecuador

nor Spain. She claims that *"there are not the same opportunities (job) here (Spain) as it is there (Germany)"*. Likewise, Gaby met her boyfriend at a summer camp two years ago. They kept in contact for one year. Then, the last year, they started a long distance relationship between Granada and Madrid (five hours away by bus). Currently, she keeps volunteering in the same summer camp every year and contemplates the possibility of moving to Madrid to live.

The different professional practices and choices relate the person to a place. The services provided by the public and private institutions in Granada and Murcia gave them opportunities that influence their 'life project'. But, the transnational relationships affect their perceptions of what is 'home' and where this can be. Even if they are working or studying in their cities of residence, in the future, the possibility to move again is not dismissed in their plan. Hence, 'home' as an ongoing process is affected by the emotional attachment, the opportunities provided and the connections to a place.

To sum up, the young participants experienced the differences between them and the 'others' within the high school. These differences were acknowledged by the 'others' through many practices. The way the young transmigrant speak Spanish, connected them to a different place from Spain. This link between people and place promoted the adoption of new words and accents in order to interact and blend in a group. Afterwards, the young transmigrants participated in different activities that were related to their belongingness in a group. However, when they finished the high school they entered in a period of time, sixteen to nineteen years, to reflect on their future and home. This ongoing process is affected by the opportunities provided and the relationships established in a place. Hence, all these practices showed the possibilities to belong to multiple places. However, within the societies, the places to go and use are shaped by its social dynamic. Therefore, we could find that places are marked by other issues like ethnicity in cities impacted by the transnational migration. However, young transmigrants contest the ethnicity and cultural mark through the use and circulation between places in their cities.

Chapter 4 | 'Places For Belonging'

For young transmigrants, the use and adaptation the Spanish, the establishment of friendships, the participation in recreational activities with their group of friend, and the ongoing construction 'home', linked them to a specific community in their earlier years. All these practices and interactions happened in different places within societies impacted by the transnational migration. But, if a 'place' is produced by the meanings attribution by a person or a group of people, Granada and Murcia's landscapes are draw with places transnationally marked. Hence, the use of particular places relate the person to a specific ethnicity and through its constant use give a sense of belonging. Nonetheless, while moving around the city, the young transmigrants challenge the imaginary boundaries drew upon the place and its representation.

'Place' as a Social Product

A 'place' is produced by the relationship of a person and the space where she/he encounters with the others (family, friends, work colleagues, love partner, etc.). So, a place will be attached with memories, emotions (happiness, sadness, anger) through the daily practices and use (like walking, studying, eating, dancing, exercising) by the person (Fenster 2005: 222). Consequently, the knowledge acquired, the memories and meanings produced through the constant use of the place give a sense of belonging to the city. But, the presence of transmigrants produced new places that impacted the composition of that society.

Nicholls argues that "the position of some cities within global migration networks has contributed to radically altering the composition and functions of these cities within a relatively short period of time" (2016: 878). In the cases of Murcia and Granada, the Latin-American migration since 2000 had influenced the cities structure through the production of 'new places'. Sometimes, the 'new places' appeared with a distinction that indicates who or where the owner came from. Things like a flag or a word related to Latin-America next to 'bar', 'restaurant', 'bakery', make a differentiation based on ethnicity. But, in Granada and Murcia, 'places' can be experienced in different manners. In Murcia, going out to eat with family can be done in a 'Latino Restaurant'. Meanwhile, in Granada, the frequent option is a 'tapería'. A 'Tapería' is a Spanish restaurant where people can have a proper meal or a portion of food called 'tapa' and drink. It is not like in Murcia there are no 'taperías', in fact, there are plenty of it, but these are rarely used by Latino adults. Likewise, in Granada, the Latin-American transmigrants own a 'tapería' (as it is the custom in Granada) instead of a 'Latino Restaurant'. In both cities, a person can find somewhere to eat, but the places are presented in different ways because a 'place' is a physical space affected by the cultural values and norms from a group of people. Hence, it is necessary to understand how Granada and Murcia became cities within the transnational network and how the similarities and differences have impacted on the young transmigrants life.

Granada and Murcia: Two Culturally Distant Cities in Southern Spain

The cities of Granada and Murcia are located in the southern region of Spain. Both cities share some antecedents because of the Arabs Empire before the 'Reconquest of the Catholic King and Queen' in the fourteen century. This historical background along with other similarities like the warm weather and the main sources of employment impacted in the cities organization and cultural values. Furthermore, it turned the cities into transmigrants receiving societies. The weather (similar to the tropical weather in Latin America) and the high demand in the agriculture and service sector were attractive facts for low skilled Latin-American adult transmigrants in the late 90's and beginning of 2000's. After the establishment of Latin American communities, new 'places', highly marked by ethnicity, were produced and change the landscape of the cities. This situation has impacted on the Latin-American transmigrants life style and their perception about belonging.

Granada is located in the Autonomous Region of Andalucía. The city is 40 km away (50 minutes by car) to 'Sierra Nevada' and the 'Montaña de Andalucía' (mountains). Also, it is 60 km away (55 minutes by car) to the coast and many beaches from 'Costa del Sol'. Additionally, the city is world known because of its cultural diverse environment. The 'Alhambra' (an architectural complex of Arabs and Spaniard palaces and gardens), the influence of the Roma culture through their music and dance 'flamenco', and the Arab culture in the decoration and architecture of the houses, food and the typical 'Granadino' souvenirs are expressions of Granada's cultural diversity. The sum of all these facts makes the city a popular touristic spot all year for people around the world. Meanwhile, Murcia (capital) is in the Autonomous Region of Murcia, next to Andalucía. It is 35 km away from the Mediterranean coast (45 minute by car) and many beaches. After 15 minutes driving from the centrum of the city, there is 'La Huerta' (the Garden), where all the agricultural work takes place. Just like Granada, Murcia was under the domain of the domain of the Arabs until the thirteen century because the city was reconquered by the Catholic King and Queen. On the contrary to Granada, in Murcia, there are remains of one Arab palace; instead, Murcia has one of the most important Catholic Cathedrals in Spain due to the mix of the Gothic, Baroque and Renaissances style. So, if Granada is perceived as a cultural and ethnic diverse city with a predominant influence of Spanish, Murcia is perceived as a Spanish city with a strong influence of the Latin-American customs.

Regarding the organization of the cities, Granada and Murcia are divided into eight districts, each district has many neighbourhoods. But, some neighbourhoods in Granada are marked by the predominant ethnic groups living with it. In the Zaidín neighbourhood, the residents are mostly migrants (especially Latin-Americans) or the Sacromonte residents are mostly Spanish Romas. But in Murcia, there is no ethnic distinction of the neighbourhood. In the centrum of Granada, a person can find most of the public institutions, the City Hall, shopping stores, lots of taperías/restaurants and plazas. Furthermore, it is 25-30 minutes by walking from any point of the city, so most of its residents move by walking or by bus (10-15 minutes). Similarly, in the centrum of Murcia, a person can also find the shopping stores, the City Hall, plazas, restaurants/taperías. But, Murcia is bigger than Granada. So, the centrum can be really close, like10

minutes by walking from the closest neighbourhoods like 'El Carmen' or very far (50 minutes by walking or 25 minutes by bus). So, most of the residents move by bus or car.

Concerning the Latin American Transmigrants life, it is differently experienced in both cities. In Granada, most of Latin Americans live in the Zaidín neighbourhood due to the low house rent. Inside the neighbourhood, there are parks (at least three) where people (of all ages) go to meet, to talk, to jog and to walk their dogs. Additionally, I visited a public football field where young boys (most of them foreigners) gather to play. Yet, the influence of the Latin-American migrants is perceived due to the small markets, food stores (like a bakery) and 'taperías' that have a flag or a sign with the label 'Latino' or the name of the home-country of the owner of the shop. Likewise, there are a lot of phone booths with a big sign outside the place indicating the phone rates for calls and money transfers to Latin America. While in the rest of the city, the phone booths rates indicate other countries. In contrast to Granada's reality, Latin-American transmigrants live in all Murcia. However, in 'El Carmen' neighbourhood a person can find more Latino restaurants and bars than 'taperías'. Nonetheless, the impact of the Ecuadorian transmigrants has produced a new place known as the 'Fica'. The 'Fica' is a big empty parking slot used by the Spanish people to jog or pass by bike in the morning. But, on the weekends, after 7 pm, the Ecuadorians claim this place in a different way. In the weekend nights, a big group of Ecuadorians park their cars, play music through a loudspeaker, set volleyball fields and 'secretly' sell food and drinks (because it is forbidden to sell food without proper sanitary regulation and documentation). So, they play cards, volleyball or meet with other co-nationals to eat cheap 'Ecuadorian' dishes and drink all night.

Finally, the historical background, the cultural values, and customs of each city promoted the production of determinate places like the Spanish restaurants. However, after the arrival of Latin-Americans into the cities, the social organization and places production changed. As a result, Granada and Murcia became cities full of places marked by ethnicity that influence the practices and lifestyle of the cities, respective residents. But these places are represented and experienced in different ways by the adult and the young Latin American transmigrants. Furthermore, the 'others' acknowledge these places as different from the rest of places in the cities. Therefore, we will see how young Latin-Americans in Murcia and Granada are aware of the places distinction marks and through their practices they challenge this marks.

Transnational Landscape within Murcia and Granada

Young transmigrants' comments about their belongingness were always related to the different places that are part of their everyday practices. "The possibilities of daily use of urban spaces are what create a sense of belonging to the city" (Fenster 2005: 222). However, Fenster's contribution is limited to the right to use and participate in the city and the spaces it offers. Additionally, there is a distinction between the places for study or work than the places for recreation, and it is the choice the person make regarding where to go. Furthermore, because in these recreational places they meet other people (like family, friends, and partner) the selection of a place will be based on who is going too. Hence, the sense of belonging is produced through the relationship between the place

and the person. Therefore, I propose to reflect on the relevance of the recreational places for the young transmigrants claim of belonging.

To go out with family depends on the parents' job schedule. So, when the parents have a day off, there are two common practices to take a walk inside or outside the city and eat. In Granada, there are many rivers that go across the city. So, when Alejandra and Gabriela's parents have a day off work, they walk around the centrum and then next to the river. *"This is our routine (her and her family), first go for an ice cream, then walk in the centrum, take pictures and continue until we finish at the Darro River"* (Gabriela).

Picture 2: Family Custom

Gabriela and her Family, in the pier of the Darro River, beneath 'The Alhambra', Granada (Spain). (Photo provided by Gabriela)

But, whenever the time is enough to search for a natural environment inside or outside the city some families do it. Alejandra took me for a walk next to the Genil River. We walked for more than an hour towards the periphery of the city and explained to me this was a custom of her family. When she and her sister go with her father, they ride their bikes until they arrive into the next town outside Granada. Or, when her mother joins them, they walk the track. Afterwards, they take lunch and then come back to home. Similarly, when Vicky was living in Ecuador, her family custom was to go to the river to spend the day. After they moved into Murcia, they move this custom into the Segura River for a long period of time. She took me to the river and explained due to the clash schedule among the members of the family they rarely do that now. *"We used to this… to come here, to walk, to bike, to sit down and watch the river, the ducks or walk until we arrive at the next town"*. However, she still does this on her own or when his boyfriend is visiting in the city.

Picture 3: Family Custom

Alejandra and her family outside Granada, (Spain). (Photo provided by Alejandra)

Other participants mentioned going out to eat as a familiar custom. In Murcia the 'Latino restaurants' and the 'Fica' are the most frequent options instead of a 'Tasca' (Spanish restaurant) or the food court in the shopping malls. The Latino Restaurants are usually named on behalf of a place, like 'Perla del Pacífico' (which is how Guayaquil, my city of origin, is known in Ecuador) or any nickname used in Latin America. Regarding this tendency, the young Ecuadorians shared the perceptions about the similarities between the restaurants they have visited and Ecuador. *"You go there and see the same chairs, see the people and you know that you are in Ecuador"* (Nacho). Just like Nacho, Sara and her family eat in the 'Latino Restaurants'. So, the remembrances of the country of origin attract Latino transmigrants to the restaurant. Also, Nacho compared the services between a Latino and Spanish restaurant *"Prices are almost the same, the amount of food and what they served is not, you know how much we eat…"*. Hence, beyond the physical similarities between the restaurants in Murcia and Ecuador, there is an acknowledgment of the Ecuadorian customs.

The places to go out with friends (either Spaniards or Latin Americans) are almost the same. They go to a bar to drink or eat, a discotheque to dance or the shopping mall. But the presence of non-Spaniards in the cities, have produced alternate places based on ethnicity. In Granada, the cultural diversity promotes a variety of places like the 'taperías' and 'Arab restaurants' in the 'Albaizín' neighborhood (next to the 'Alhambra'). All of the participants in Granada have visited many times these places with their friends. Even Alex, who is living there since January, has visited several times these places with his partner and acquaintances. Gaby and Estefanía also visit the 'taperías' when they go out with their friends, but then they look for a place to dance. Their favorite place is 'Mae West'. *"When*

we want to go out, we always go to 'Mae West'" (Gaby), *"This is the place that I like to come more with my friends (after they meet to eat and drink in a 'Tapería')"* (Estefanía).

Picture 4: Place to go with Friends

*'Mae West' (discoteque) taken for the research by Estefanía in Granada (Spain

They go there any night of the week. Although, they claim to enjoy more the Thursday night because the ladies don't pay a fee entrance and the discotheque plays 'Latino' music (salsa and bachata). 'Mae West' functions inside the shopping mall 'Neptuno'. For the twins, the 'Neptuno' has been the center of their social life since they were teenagers. *"I have good memories of it… It was like an obligation for us to go on Wednesday (because the tickets were half of price) and watch any movie"* (Gaby). But, in the last seven years, three bigger and more modern shopping malls opened in Granada, forcing the 'Neptuno' to close most of its stores, except for 'Mae West', a gym and the 'cinema'. So, Gaby and Estefanía go to the gym (in the 'Neptuno)' on their own time and go to the discotheque with their friends.

In Murcia, However, they select the place based on who they are going out with. So, if they are going to meet with Spaniards friends, they go to a 'tasca' or a 'tapería'. If they go out with Ecuadorians, they usually go to a Latino Restaurant or a Latino discoteque or the 'Fica'. The 'Fica' appears as a unique place in Murcia (in comparison to Granada) claim by Ecuadorians. In this place, some customs and behaviors, like playing volleyball or cards and eat Ecuadorian dishes, are reinforced or experience for the first time. For example, Nacho never ate 'chochos' (grain in the Ecuadorian Andean area) before coming to Murcia. *"I had never tried the 'chocho' and I ate it for the first time here and I like it"*. Paty and Vicky were taken to the 'Fica' to play volleyball like they used to in Ecuador. Hence, the 'Fica' represents a place where is possible to recreate the customs and culture of Ecuador. *"It's a meeting space. You go there and see the people playing, eating (Ecuadorian food)"* (Nacho). *"You feel like in Ecuador because you see all your people, there is no place like this in Murcia"* (Paty). *"You feel like you are in Ecuador because that's what you do in Ecuador, you play, you drink, you smoke"* (Sara). Furthermore, because the participants were aware of my Ecuadorian roots, they recommend me many times me to go to the 'Fica' or at least visit a Latino restaurant. So, to be an

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Ecuadorian in Murcia implies that you should visit the 'Fica'. Finally, the 'Fica' as a place for Ecuadorians is also acknowledged by the 'others'. Paty mentioned that she had been asked about the 'Fica' and has perceived some lack of understanding about it. One of her co-worker (a Latina) told her *"I don't understand why they let you use that, it's a parking slot… Why you (Ecuadorians) use that space and the police don´t tell you anything"*. Neither her Spaniard friends understand the purpose of this place, *"They asked me Why I was going to the 'Fica', even if I explained to them that I was there to play volleyball (like the rest of the Ecuadorians there)"*.

The quotes above illustrate how Latin American transmigrant families look for places with some resemblance to the places they used to go in their country of origin. Hence, attending to these places in Granada or Murcia produced a connection between the person to Latin-America and the customs. Nevertheless, when the young transmigrants go out with friends, they found themselves in societies with cultural diverse landscape. They have acknowledged the ethnic differentiation and connect themselves to their country of origins and customs. Nonetheless, the young transmigrants contest the ethnic mark of the places and go further by moving across the transnational landscape in their city.

Where I Go is Where I Belong…?

As young transmigrants move inside the cities, they noticed the ethnic differences between places. Likewise, they recognized how their sense of belonging is produced through the use of the places. Gabriela, who came from Bolivia, claims her belongingness to Granada and acknowledge the 'Alhambra' as part of her. Similarly, Alejandra identifies the Genil River as part of herself because this place is full of good memories for her. Nevertheless, the meanings production of a place can provoke some rejection too. The 'Fica' represents an important place for the Ecuadorians in Murcia. However, it also produced some struggle for the young Ecuadorians. For them, the dynamics inside the 'Fica' had triggered some resistance about the place and what it represents. Vicky, Sara, and Nacho mentioned that they have good memories and friendships along with bad experiences and practices they don't want to be related with. So, they don´t go as much as they used to do it a couple of years ago because *"is a lawless place"* (Sara) where the police do not intervene until something happens. Likewise, they avoid being there because of some gang fights or disputes among the drunk people that put them in danger or connect them to some group of people and customs that are not theirs. Furthermore, if specific practices in the 'Fica' are the main attraction for most Ecuadorians in Murcia, for some of them, it causes the opposite. Nacho said he rarely goes because *"I don't play volleyball. If I go, is because of the food"*. Likewise, Sara doesn´t play volleyball. So, she goes there to visit some friends and then go home or somewhere else to do something different.

Hence, the production of belongingness through the relation between place and people is acknowledged by the young transmigrants. In one hand, Alejandra and Gabriela (Bolivian sisters) expressed their belongingness to Granada through their attachment to specific places in the city. In the other hand, the young Ecuadorians don't take for granted their belongingness to Ecuador, rather they critically embraced the representations and customs produced in the 'Fica' and look for other places to belong. So, their belonging sense is expressed as plural. Nonetheless, the young transmigrants commented other practices that affect the perceptions about the places and its representations.

The promotion of activities and the involvement of the 'others' undermine the ethnic mark in the places. Alejandra is recognized by her friends as the one who likes sports and promotes activities open-air. She has taken her friends (mostly Spaniards) to the Genil river (like she does with her family). Although they were not eager to do it, then, they appreciated going somewhere different. So far, they have gone to the river many times. Paty has Spaniard friends, whenever she meets them, they go to a 'tasca'. However, *"once we went to a Latino discotheque. They like it. One of them started to take salsa classes after that"*. But, the participation of the young transmigrants in different places contest their belongingness to one place. *"Sometimes I go there (to a Latino restaurant), sometimes I go over there (to a Spaniard restaurant). Sometimes I want to go to a Latino discotheque, sometimes I want to listen to rock"* (Nacho). *"We (she and her Latino friends) go to the discotheques, to the cinema, to eat at the 'Condomina' (Shopping Mall) or to the 'tasca', which is very typical from Spain"* (Vicky). Sara likes to go to the cafes, tascas, and taperías as much as she enjoys going to the Latino restaurants. Likewise, she has asked her parents to go to a Spaniard restaurant, because she considers it is good to do something else. Therefore, through the circulation of different places, the young transmigrants have challenged the assumption about their singular belongingness and weakened the ethnic imaginary boundaries upon the places through their practices and the involvement of the 'others'.

To sum up, Granada and Murcia are cities impacted by the transnational migration from Latin America in the last twenty years. This lead to the production of places with distinctive marks of Latin America cultures. As a result, the transnational families look for the places with some resemblance to their former country and moved some of their old practices into their new society. However, the ethnicity mark of these places is not unperceived by the young transmigrants; instead of staying to these specific places, they navigate through the transnational landscape of their respective cities and claim their sense of belonging in different manners. They connected themselves into a specific place of their new society, they have involved the 'others' in 'their' places and practices as Latinos, or have partially embraced the practices and customs of a specific place. Hence, they have illustrated how is possible to belong to multiple places and people.

Chapter 5 | Conclusion

In this final section, before moving on to the conclusions, let's recap the concepts that were fundamental for the analysis of young Latinas/os transmigrants belongingness.

'Youth' is understood as a life phase between childhood and adulthood. In this transitional stage, young people enjoy more independence from their parents in comparison to the children. A young person starts to experience the world, establishes new friendships, visits new places and sets routines according to their interest. But, by having less agency than an adult, parents will influence the decisions the young person makes and actions. In the moment a member of the family decides to migrate, the young person becomes part of the transnational network. In the context of 'transnationalism', the relationship with the country of origin does not end after moving abroad; instead, the connections keep influencing the life of the transmigrant. In the case of young transmigrants, to migrate is not a choice they made by themselves. It's a decision made by the parents. From now on, young transmigrants' experiences in the new residence city, is marked by physical and cultural differences between them and the 'others'. These experiences will impact in the way the young transmigrants see themselves, their transnational interactions and daily practices. So, if a 'sense of belonging' is related to the identity, what the person do, where the person goes and with whom, their belongingness becomes plural rather than fix to a specific location, community or Nation.

In my ethnographic research, the participants illustrated how their belongingness is not singular. Their feeling to belonging to more than one place have been constructed from their experiences in different moments of their youth, with different people and the adoption or establishment of certain practices while they moved between places in cities transnationally marked. I, therefore, reviewed young Latina/o transmigrants experiences in Granada and Murcia (Spain) in order to understand how they developed their sense of belonging.

First, as part of a transnational family, young transmigrants found themselves caught in between their former and new societies. So, young Latinas/os have constructed their identity in the social context of the 'others' while they dealt with the cultural gaps due to the differences among Latin-American countries and Spain. Likewise, when they started high school in Spain, the physical dissimilarities (outfit, hair style, skin colour) between them and the other young Spaniards, impacted the construction of their identity. Quite often their appearance connected them to a different place than Spain and enhanced stereotypes about them. Similarly, their Spanish accent and slang indicated their status as foreigners. Hence, they changed their looks (or parts of it), adopted the Spanish accent, or kept their original accent and used some Spanish slang in order to diminish the differences and blend in more effectively. Therefore, their identity and characteristics in this period of time (between thirteen to fifteen years) allowed them to claim their belongingness and accepted by the 'others'.

Second, after being recognized as part of a group of friends, the young transmigrants took part in different practices marked by their collective identity. Although most of them skipped classes to be with their group, what they did, differed among the young transmigrants. Some of them looked for a place to play music like 'reguetón', 'salsa', or 'bachata', dance and drink. Others, went to outdoor places like a park or a plaza to drink and talk. Nonetheless, when they finished the high school, they entered in a period of time (sixteen to nineteen) where some decision had to be made regarding their future. Some of them got into the preparatory school and then went to the university, others studied a technical career and then went to the university or started to work. The possibilities offered by institutions in the cities, like scholarships, internships or additional studies, made them reflect about their belongingness in Spanish societies. They recognized themselves as part of Granada or Murcia. Also, they had the opportunity to establish new friendships and go through new experiences in temporary or volunteer jobs that helped them develop their life projects and have a clear idea of what they wanted to do as professionals. Yet, in the ongoing construction of home, the ties held abroad, kept them thinking about where and what home is for them. Some considered to settling in a new city, go back to their country of origin, or start again in a different country. What they considered as home, was always related to the possibilities to root in a society and the relationships they have in that place. Therefore, their earlier practices as part of a group during high school, the decisions they made for their future and the connections to multiple societies, promoted a belongingness to both their current society and the other one abroad.

Last but not least, the presence of Latin-American communities within Granada and Murcia impacted the dynamics that tuned them part of the transnational network in different manners. On one hand, Granada's cultural diversity resulted in the production of places that are mix of the Spaniards and the Latin-American, like a 'tapería' with a flag and objects from Colombia. On the other hand, the strong influence of the Spanish promoted the production of distinctively Latino places, like the 'Fica' or 'Latino Restaurants'. Hence, both cities landscapes are full of places marked by ethnicity. These as well as Latin-American, such as a river or a town, promoted the continuity of former customs of young transmigrants and their families. Hence, the use of these places, connected the young transmigrant to a specific culture or community. Furthermore, practices in specific places, like the 'Fica', worked out well for the young Ecuadorians: they learned customs and experienced their Ecuadorian culture in a foreign country. Nonetheless, the young transmigrants recognized the ethnic differentiation of the places and move across them, undermining the ethnic mark upon these specific places. Some of them involved their Spaniard friends through activities related to family customs or took them to places known as 'Latinos'. Finally, for the young transmigrants to belong to a culture, do not imply full embracing all the practices of that culture, instead, they take part in some of the activities and look for other things to do in different places. Hence, their narratives of belonging while living in cities transnationally marked, connect them to multiple places.

To conclude, the narratives of the ten young Latin-American transmigrants living in Granada and Murcia helped to understand that a sense of belonging can be define as plural. Through their earlier experiences as young and the ongoing situations they deal in their everyday lives, they came up with creative and different responses and practices that contest the assumptions of their belongingness to a specific community, or group. This is due to their identity, physical appearance, language, their friendships, recreational activities or the places they go. So, while they are navigate the transnational landscapes of their cities, they keep developing their sense of belonging and express it in multiple ways.

Some last thoughts…

As a young Ecuadorian studying in a foreign country and researching other young transmigrants that live in a society that I am familiar with, I am aware that the knowledge produced in this paper responds to my own position within the research. However, this situation pushed me to reflect further on the participants' narratives of belonging in order to illustrate, in the best way, their own positions and thoughts. Nevertheless, it's worth to consider others issues that were not covered in this paper, like being a transmigrants with a higher socio-economic status, being a mother or a father, or having a stable work relation, that might affect the practices and claims of belonging.

In Granada I met 5 participants:

-Gaby: She was born in Ecuador although she has the Spaniard citizenship. She is 23 years old and lives with her mother, twin sister (who is also a participant), a younger brother (16 years) and younger sister (8 years). She is studying at the Granada University a career in Human Resources. Currently, she is unemployed and has a boyfriend (Spaniard) who lives in Madrid. She arrived into Granada when she was 8 years old. They travelled to Granada (herself, her mother and twin sister) to spend their school vacation period in September with their father. Afterwards, their parents decided to keep the family together, so they never came back to Ecuador. Currently, her father lives in Ecuador.

-Estefanía: She is Gabriela R twin sister. She also has the dual citizenship (Ecuadorian/Spaniard) and lives with her all family as well. She is studying Finances in the Granada University and was temporarily hired in the summer by a multinational supermarket brand. She arrived into Granada when she was 8 years old. After a holiday break, their parents decided to keep the family in Granada. Currently, her father lives in Ecuador.

-Alex: He is a 29 years old Peruvian. He arrived the last week of January 2017. He has a degree in Biology from Peru. He lives with his partner, José (Spaniard in his fifties). By the time of the research his visa permit expired and was waiting for some legalized document from Peru in order to get marry with José and regularize his situation. Afterwards, he plans to search for jobs as a biologist (or similar) and to start a master program next year. He is unemployed but has some informal jobs.

-Gabriela: She is 23 years old and was born in Bolivia. She also has dual citizenship. She arrived in Granada when she was 8 years old with her younger sister (also a participant) and mother. Her father was working in the city by that time as a waiter. Her mother has been working in the domestic and nursery sector. She is finishing and Aerospatiale Engineering at the Seville University (3 hours away by bus from Granada). She has a Spaniard boyfriend.

-Alejandra: She is 21 years old. She came from Bolivia with her sister and mother when she was six years old. She finished a BA in Psychology at the Granada University. By the time of the research, she got accepted in a half-time job with an agency doing social workshops. She has also been involved in volunteering jobs. Like her elder sister, she has dual citizenship (Bolivian/Spaniard).

Meanwhile, in Murcia, I also managed to find 5 participants and they are:

-Vicky: She is 28 years old. She was born in Ecuador and is processing the Spaniard citizenship. She came with her younger brother after their parents' work for a couple of years in Murcia and were able to bring them to Spain. She came when she was 13 years old. She had finished a professional career in tourism and service sector. When I met her, she was temporarily working for a restaurant. Also, she is studying the German language because her boyfriend (Ecuadorian) lives in Germany and they have planned to move there together.

-Patty: She is 24 years old. She is Ecuadorian and is processing the Spaniard nationality. She was left with her sister under the care of her grandparents in Alausi (Ecuador) when she was 5 years old. Ten years later, her mother brought both daughters to live with her in Murcia. Currently, she is living with her boyfriend. Her mother is living in Ecuador and planning to go back to Spain and

her sister decided to take her chances in Madrid a couple of months ago. She is working in a hotel (the same as her mother did) and studying Political Science at Murcia University. She is processing the Spaniard nationality.

-Sara: She is 28 years old and was born in Ecuador. She came with her brother 4 years younger than her when she was 13 years. By that time, her mother used to work inside houses as a maid and her father in agriculture. She is studying 2 bachelors, 'Political Science' and 'Law'. She has a boyfriend, Ecuadorian as well.

-Victor: He is an Ecuadorian and came one year ago to study a master programme in Business Management at Murcia University. He came with a loan from an Ecuadorian bank. His plan was to study and look for a job to stay longer, but by the time of our meeting, he was preparing to go back to Ecuador. His graduation will be in January of 2018, so he is planning to come back one more time for a few day and attend the ceremony.

-Nacho (Ignacio): He is 23 years old and came to Spain in 2009 (at the beginning of the economic crisis in Spain). His mother was already working in Murcia and decided to reunite the family. So, he came with his older brother (25 years old) and father. His father moved back to Ecuador a few years ago. He finished Psychology at Murcia University. He is working and planning to do a master soon.

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